

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES

SAMPLE APPLICATION NARRATIVE



America's Historical and Cultural Organizations:
Planning Grants

Institution: Maymont Foundation



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SAMPLE PROPOSAL

This sample of the narrative portion from a grant is provided as an example of a funded proposal. It will give you a sense of how a successful application may be crafted. It is not intended to serve as a model. Every successful application is different, and each applicant is urged to prepare a proposal that reflects its unique project and aspirations. Prospective applicants are also strongly encouraged to consult with staff members in the NEH Division of Public Programs well before a grant deadline.

Project Title: In Service and Beyond: Domestic Work and Life in a Gilded Age Mansion

Institution: Maymont Foundation

Project Director: Dale Wheary

Grant Program: Humanities Projects in Museums and Historical Organizations

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MAYMONT

MAYMONT DOMESTIC SERVICE INTERPRETATION AND EXHIBITION PLANNING PROJECT

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MAYMONT DOMESTIC SERVICE INTERPRETATION AND EXHIBITION PLANNING PROJECT

MAYMONT FOUNDATION: ORGANIZATIONAL PROFILE

Institutional History: Maymont is an 100-acre historic estate developed in the late nineteenth century as the home of Richmond business and civic leader James H. Dooley and his wife Sallie, who bequeathed their home to the City of Richmond to be used as a park and museum. Maymont was opened to the public, admission free, in 1926. Maymont instantly became one of Richmond's favorite attractions, a standing that has not diminished. Over the years, the City added new facets to the original complex—Virginia wildlife exhibits and the Nature Center—which sustain ongoing popular appeal. However, with no endowment to maintain Maymont, the condition of the estate steadily deteriorated over time. In 1970, the City began a general clean-up of the grounds and restoration of the house. Soon thereafter, Maymont was declared a National Register Historic Place and a Virginia Historic Landmark because of its significance as an intact, late-Victorian country estate. The City Council determined that a nonprofit organization could better provide for its long-term operation and maintenance, and the newly formed Maymont Foundation undertook responsibility for the estate in 1975 with the agreement that no general admission fee could be charged. The mission of Maymont Foundation was developed in accordance with the Dooleys' wills and the Foundation's agreement with the City of Richmond (see Appendices). Major capital improvements, renovations, conservation, ongoing restoration, and an active program and event agenda have rejuvenated Maymont, which enjoys a high profile in Virginia, a loyal, broad-based constituency and a large annual visitation.

Humanities Resources: Maymont's opulent interiors, picturesque architecture, and elaborate landscape form an unusually complete document of an American country place of the Gilded Age. In a state in which eighteenth-century historic sites predominate, Maymont stands out in Virginia as an intact example of this distinct turn-of-the-century phenomenon. Enriched by stained glass, frescoes, and other costly detailing, Maymont House depicts the opulent taste of an upper-class family during the period 1893-1925. The upper floors are restored and furnished with the 1,400 object decorative and fine arts collection, acquired by the Dooleys and bequeathed with the property. Restoration of service areas is currently being planned to expand interpretation of domestic life and work. The original 100-acre landscape is intact. Major landscape features include expansive English-style lawns, Italian and Japanese gardens, grotto, various water features, and the arboretum. Restoration of the ornamental lawns surrounding the mansion is now underway. The architectural complex totals twenty-five original structures, with some outbuildings adapted for public and institutional use. A carriage collection, exhibited in the original carriage house, includes twenty-three vehicles.

Interpretation, Programs, and Other Exhibits: With an admission-free policy, open parkland, a variety of facilities appealing to all ages, and its picturesque estate character, Maymont attracts a large, highly diverse audience. Maymont Foundation gives high priority to a very active program and special events calendar. Daily guided tours, school programs, special focus tours, children's programs, and lectures are offered year round. Joint programming with other museums is frequent. Currently, a major symposium on the American Country Place is being planned and cosponsored by Maymont and the Virginia Historical Society. Other Maymont exhibits include the Nature Center, which attracts heavy enrollment in its environmental programs for children. A major capital campaign is in progress to fund a new Nature Center in close proximity to the animal exhibits, which are situated in an area of parkland away from formal parts of the estate. Maymont's naturalistic

Virginia wildlife habitats and Children's Farm are enormously popular with local families and school groups. Special events draw large family audiences and feature music, living history, and other activities related to the various facets of Maymont. Carriage rides are offered seasonally and give dynamic interpretation of the horse-drawn era. The museum shop, walking tour brochures, and a tram augment visitor services and orientation.

Management and Finances: Maymont Foundation is governed by the Board of Directors, which establishes policy, oversees finances, and approves institutional plans. Representing a broad spectrum of the community, the board includes business, professional, media, education and civic leaders, a former governor and public officials. The board includes thirty-five men and fifteen women; forty-one white and seven African American members. The Executive Director works closely with the board and administers the operation of Maymont. The staff includes thirty-two full-time and twenty-eight part-time employees and 200 volunteers. Staff is divided into seven departments headed by managers that report directly to the Executive Director. The annual operating budget is now \$1.6 million. One-third of the total is contributed by the City of Richmond and neighboring counties. The remainder is raised annually through community-based campaigns, on-site generated income, sponsorships, fund-raisers, grants, and the Maymont Flower and Garden Show. Over the past fifteen years, Maymont Foundation has received grants from several federal and state agencies, including five IMS general operating grants and eight conservation grants, five NEA conservation grants, and an NEH self-study grant.

As Maymont Foundation has matured and its financial standing and leadership stabilized, strong bonds have been forged in the community. The institution is now aggressively pursuing higher, more sophisticated levels of stewardship, education, and public service. The award of a grant from NEH for planning a servant life exhibition in the belowstairs of Maymont House and attendant programs would provide a significant contribution to Maymont's goal of enriching its humanities interpretation.

Maymont Servant Life Interpretation and Exhibition Planning Project

1. Nature of the Request

To offer a more compelling and comprehensive view of Maymont House as a representative upper-class household of the New South, Maymont Foundation wishes to introduce the public to *all* of its former inhabitants, both above and belowstairs. In its first seventy years as an admission-free museum and park, the site has been interpreted primarily as the home and showplace of businessman and philanthropist James Dooley and his wife, Sallie. A new, permanent exhibition on the backstairs experience of Maymont House would underscore another very important aspect of the estate as a workplace by featuring the lives and labors of the domestic staff who worked silently behind the scenes.

Maymont Foundation requests a \$40,000 planning grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities to fund the planning of the belowstairs exhibition, attendant interpretative and educational materials, and related programs focusing on turn-of-the-century domestic work and the household staff once employed at Maymont, a 100-acre Gilded Age estate in Richmond, Virginia. While the proposed exhibition would examine the specific people, spaces, and material culture of Maymont's domestic service staff, the project possesses national implications as a case study of domestic service between 1893 and 1925 in Richmond, the South, and the United States. Moreover, the project could serve as a model for integration of the domestic service story into house museum interpretation.

Building upon the Foundation's substantial domestic service research and documentation project and its continuing efforts to tell Maymont's backstairs story, the grant would support all aspects of the exhibition's planning phase, a twelve month period between September 1998 and August 1999. It would facilitate meetings of an exhibition planning team comprised of museum staff, humanities scholars, technical experts, and educators who will shape, oversee, and evaluate the project. The grant would support the development of the belowstairs interpretation and exhibition plan (complete exhibition story-line, interpretive panel text, label copy and audio scripts) and a compilation of images for the exhibition. With the guidance of a specialist in domestic material culture, a furnishing plan would be developed. Text for a self-guide brochure of the exhibition would be drafted. To open the project to community input and to continue Maymont's effort to document domestic service in Richmond, oral history interviews would be videotaped. Video footage made during the project would be available as a regional and national history resource and could later be edited for an exhibition video. The project would culminate with the design of the servant life exhibition, which will be housed primarily within the 3,500 square foot basement level.

The project will also include related programs and outreach planning. In addition to planning of the new exhibition, the museum staff will revise and expand the general house tour to incorporate the perspective of the individuals who worked in the house, their duties, and aspects of their lives beyond the estate boundaries. Also, the project will support revision of current servant life focus tours. A domestic life school program plan with associated educational materials will be developed. During the course of the project, visitor evaluation of the daily general tour and the focus tours will provide

valuable insight for the planning process. To broaden accessibility to Maymont's domestic service interpretation, interpretive panels for off-site display would be planned and the exhibition self-guide brochure text, images, and a select bibliography would be posted on Maymont's World Wide Web site. An outreach presentation on the project would be developed and scheduled with local clubs and church groups. An advisory committee including local educators, historians with a special interest in African American and domestic history, representatives of the local universities and the Black History Museum and Cultural Center of Virginia, the Virginia Historical Society, and The Valentine Museum would assist with evaluation of the plans, identification of and access to local resources, collections and outreach venues, and the planning of a collaborative program on domestic service in the New South targeted for a large regional and national audience. This committee would also advise on the development of a dynamic marketing approach for the project.

The proposed project stands upon the shoulders of a prior successful NEH-funded project that drew together a panel of experts and scholars to consult on Maymont's historical interpretation. Including Richard Guy Wilson, Kenneth Ames, Edward L. Ayers, Barbara Carson, Merri Ferrell and Renee Friedman, the panel confirmed that while Maymont has enjoyed steady visitation and support from the community, it clearly has potential for further development as a cultural, historical, and educational resource. Restoration of the service area and a permanent exhibition on domestic service were identified as major goals for the enhancement of Maymont's humanities-based interpretation and educational programming. The panel's insight and recommendations provided the basis for the agenda for enrichment of Maymont's interpretation as an American country place of the Gilded Age and for the recently adopted historical interpretation policy, a document which marks a major milestone in the institution's maturation (see Appendices).

2. Introduction to the Subject: Domestic Service and the Gilded Age Estate

At any given moment between 1893 and 1925, the Dooleys employed seven to ten individuals who cooked for and attended the personal needs of the couple, cleaned, and maintained Maymont's furnishings and mechanical systems. Twenty additional workers were employed to maintain the estate grounds and work in the stables and garage.¹ Under continual scrutiny and sometimes difficult conditions, these individuals worked together and independently to meet the day-to-day challenges of running an elaborate estate. Written depositions and taped oral histories offer personal glimpses of the ongoing working relationship between the Dooleys and their employees. Although most of the household records were destroyed at the time of Mrs. Dooley's death in 1925, extant private and public records indicate that, relative to their Richmond cohort, the Dooleys paid their servants well and remembered several through significant cash bequests.²

Beyond the specific history of Maymont and its household staff, the proposed belowstairs exhibition will provide an opportunity to take a broad view of American domestic service in the decades between 1890 and 1930. Service, the leading occupation for all working women throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, culminated in a labor force that numbered over two and a

¹ Barbara G. Carson, "The Maymont Basement Project: Assessment of Research of Findings," February 1997, pp. 20-21; Anne Ferris, "Report on Maymont's Servants," 1995. See appendices.

² Carson, pp. 11, 22-24.

half million in 1910.³ According to census records for 1880, 1900, and 1920, Richmond was second only to Nashville in maintaining the highest ratio per capita of domestic servants among major American cities. An independent 1897 survey determined that Richmond and Washington D.C. tied for the highest domestic employment rate; for approximately every thirteen people, the study reported, there was one servant.⁴ The vast majority of Richmond's domestics, as the demographics of the Dooley household attest, were African American women. By examining those individuals at Maymont and around the United States who were traditionally perceived as being "in the family, but not of it," visitors will discover overlapping, contrasting, and often conflicting experiences of America's Gilded Age.

The exhibition will provide a springboard for contextual consideration of Maymont within some of the most turbulent decades of our nation's history: the post-Reconstruction era with its shift from an agricultural to industrial capital base; the amassing of enormous personal fortunes in the 1880s-'90s alongside rampant unemployment, poverty, and labor unrest; strict Jim Crow laws and the Great Migration of African Americans to the North during the 1900-'10s; the constitutional amendments of the 1920s granting women's suffrage and the imposition of Prohibition; and the opening of employment opportunities for both women and blacks during World War I and the decade preceding the Great Depression. Providing a glimpse of the everyday experience of the servants, the new exhibition and a more comprehensive approach to interpretation of the entire mansion will give the public a more holistic view of a Gilded Age household and an important counter-balance to the upper-class perspective on the era as presented in the novels of Henry James and Edith Wharton, especially as they are revived for mass appeal in recent romanticized film versions.

Significance of Maymont's Domestic Service Interpretation to Humanities Scholarship

The Maymont servant life project opens up myriad opportunities for exploration and scholarship in the humanities. To interpret the Dooleys and their staff most effectively, the exhibition and attendant educational materials and programs must explore broader questions regarding the server/served relationship in the post-Reconstruction South and the United States as a whole. This effort requires a multi-level interpretation, addressing critical issues in American cultural, social, political, economic, technological and domestic history. In giving a presence and voice to Maymont's "help," the exhibition must examine contemporary race, gender, and class relations.

In addition to the dramatic social and economic changes of this era, domestic life was being revolutionized by new technologies, a plethora of new household products, a growing complexity of social rituals, and increased standards of household management and hygiene. The Dooleys and their domestic staff, like others throughout the region and the nation, were adjusting on a daily basis to profound changes in the home, the workplace, and the social realm.

To communicate the distinctive characteristics of the domestic environment in the decades bridging 1900, the exhibition will present the material culture specific to Maymont and, where site-specific

³ David Katzman, *Seven Days a Week: Women and Domestic Service in Industrializing America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 283.

⁴ Ibid., p. 61; Lucy Maynard Salmon, *Domestic Service* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1897; reprint: New York: Arno Press, 1972), pp. 84-85.

information is lacking, as indicated by research to be typical of upper-class workspaces of the era. The exhibit will also interpret Maymont's household mechanical systems as representative of an emerging modern era: electricity, central heat, elevator, and other innovations of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century residential technology. The exhibit will allow the opportunity to consider the impact of these new devices, products, and practices on American home life.

Appropriateness for Public Audiences

The interjection of the servants' perspective as well as everyday domestic artifacts into an interpretation that traditionally has focused on architectural and decorative arts history will provide the public with a fuller view of turn-of-the-century experience. The belowstairs exhibition will allow visitors to make direct comparisons between their own domestic environment and that of the Maymont era. Even though most visitors may be awestruck by the opulence of the Pink Drawing Room upstairs, they might more readily identify with the cook standing over the cast-iron coal-fired range that they will see in the kitchen. Through the many specialized cooking implements, panel illustrations, and interactive exhibit components, visitors will appreciate how much more labor intensive and time consuming cooking was in the era before prepared foods. Seeing a circa 1900 washing machine, scrub boards, cleaning preparations and flat irons in the laundry room might lead visitors to contemplate the convenience of their own Maytag at home and "wash-and-wear." When they lift the coal-filled scuttle in the boiler room, they will understand the back-breaking labor required to maintain a comfortable home at the turn of the century. Visitors will gain a vivid impression of the demanding requirements, the overwhelming complexity and the drudgery of domestic labor one hundred years ago.

Moreover, behind the material opulence upstairs that signifies the privileged realm of a self-made millionaire and his wife in *fin-de-siècle* America, there exists an equally compelling and important story of a vital community of African American workers at Maymont. The story of interwoven lives, spaces, and artifacts of both the employer and the employed is an engaging narrative that would have relevance and resonance for the large, diverse audience that Maymont attracts as an urban-based historic site. The exhibition would give this important story the kind of emphasis, immediacy and vitality that is appealing to present-day audiences. (Audience demographics are addressed below.)

The Visitors' Experience at Maymont

With the new servant life interpretation and exhibition in place, visitors to Maymont will be introduced to both the Dooleys and their domestic staff. On the first and second floors, they will gain an understanding of the privileged lifestyle of the owners as well as the duties of the men and women who supported that way of life: the parlor maid who answered the door, chamber maids who cleaned the rooms and furnishings, the butlers who served the meals, the coachman and later the chauffeur who brought vehicles under the porte-cochere from the carriage house, and the lady's maid and valet who helped bathe, dress, and attend the personal needs of the family. Visitors will see the wall-mounted servant bells that summoned employees.

Entering the back hallway to the butler's pantry, general visitors will have the new opportunity to see the restored service areas of Maymont House. They will then descend the backstairs to the service level, the domain of the domestic staff: kitchen, laundry room, pantry, wine cellar, butler's bedroom, servants' room, and boiler room. Through self-guided interpretive text panels, images, restored work

spaces, and objects, they will be introduced to specific individuals and will gain an in-depth understanding of the everyday lives and duties of such household laborers as the cook, chambermaid, laundress, and butler as well as the groundskeeper, coachman, and chauffeur. Visitors will be able to view the living quarters of domestic servants, noting in one large room that sleeping quarters and work space for ironing were combined.

Visitors will also consider the day workers' separate families and homes beyond Maymont's formal gates. Through interpretive text and images, they will gain a broad overview of the changing history of American domestic service and discover the ways the arrangements at Maymont were both representative and atypical of contemporary Gilded Age households across the country. Moreover, visitors may survey the advancements in household technology at the turn of the twentieth century.

They will unavoidably note the sharp disparity between the lives of a wealthy family like the Dooleys and their working-class domestic staff. They will, however, be able to discern an interdependency between the two: James and Sallie Dooley could not have maintained such an elaborate estate and lifestyle without the competent assistance of waged laborers. In turn, their domestics relied upon support and steady income from the Dooleys. The relationship formed a nexus that facilitated cultural and racial interaction in a strictly segregated society.

Visitors will also learn of divergent perspectives of server and served. The Dooleys grew up in antebellum Virginia--Sallie in rural Lunenburg County and James in urban Richmond. As a young man, James served in the Confederate army and sustained a life-long disability from battle wounds. While embracing the progressive business impulses of the New South, the couple retained their identities as Southerners with vivid memories of slavery. In *Dem Good Ole Times*, her novel published by Doubleday, Page and Co. in 1906, Mrs. Dooley romanticizes slavery as a benevolent system in which white owners cared for child-like servants. Following the late-nineteenth-century popularity of "dialect" literature by such writers as Joel Chandler Harris, Thomas Nelson Page and Paul Lawrence Dunbar, Mrs. Dooley created the reminiscences of Ben, "Mistiss' faithful Hade Gardner, in dem good ole times befo de war." In the story, loyal black servants mourn the loss of the slave system and embrace their present subservient status. Ben recalls that he once refused an offer of freedom upon saving his master's child from a snakebite, stating: "Marster, what is we done, dat you should cas us off dis a way? Now I know fur sho, dat de ole sarpunt is de devul--he mos kill me, but doe let im tun us out't de gard'n uv Edom, un stroy us altoguther. We wants to wick fur you, long is we live, un, please Gord, arter we die, we hopes to be wid you in Heben." Ben regrets that his granddaughter "ay noth'n but a po little free nigger, dat nuver had de pledgers, we all wuz use to, when we wuz chillun." Indignant, the little girl responds, "I ay no sich a thing. I's Miss Mary's maid, dat un noth'n else, un I gwy straight to de house fur to tell her how you buse me."

Oral history offers a dynamic alternating viewpoint of a domestic worker who envisions much more than being a servant "un noth'n else." The Dooleys' head cook, Frances Walker, invited her niece to visit her occasionally at Maymont. In an interview, Virgee Payne recalled her aunt's uniform, duties, kitchen work station and her apartment in the second floor of the garage. Her aunt took her upstairs to meet Mrs. Dooley, who told her "I want you to grow up and be a fine cook like your aunt." Frances Walker responded, "I don't want her to be a cook." The defiant note of Mrs. Walker's answer provides an unsentimental commentary on servant life and labor that was far from the Garden of Eden. As Mrs. Dooley looked back with sentimentalizing nostalgia, Mrs. Walker was looking

forward to new opportunities for education and employment for African Americans in the twentieth century.

3. Description of the Project

Project Goals

The proposed project would fulfill the mandate of the 1995 Maymont Foundation Strategic Plan and the agenda for enrichment of Maymont's historical interpretation, resulting from the recent NEH-sponsored study and endorsed by the board of directors. Project goals are:

- To plan a permanent domestic service exhibition in Maymont House
- To develop attendant educational programs and materials
- To integrate the servant perspective into all general tours of the house museum
- To develop related outreach and collaborative programs
- To conduct and document oral history interviews related to domestic service
- To extend the impact of the new exhibition through planning of a marketing approach, panels for off-site display, Web site, conference sessions and articles.

Exhibition Interpretive Themes

Drawing from new findings of the two-year Maymont Domestic Service Documentation and Research Project, recent architectural investigations, and current scholarship on the history of domestic service and labor in the United States, the proposed exhibition will underscore five interwoven interpretive themes. These themes expand upon the Maymont Interpretive Themes as developed during the recent NEH self-study:

1. For forty years during its tenure as an upper-class residence, Maymont's opulent facade was maintained through the behind-the-scenes efforts of a dedicated, industrious corps of domestic employees.
2. Growing upper-class tastes for conspicuous material abundance, elaborate social rituals, increased standards of hygiene, and changing technology and equipment required larger, more specialized staffs and work spaces in Gilded Age residences like Maymont.
3. Maymont's household staff was comprised of individuals with their own compelling personalities, goals, families, and stories. Each brought special skills and insights into the running of such a large, prominent household.
4. The employer/employee relationship in the South served as a nexus for class, gender, and race relations that prompted adjustments, compromise, and benefits for both parties. Retaining vestiges of European feudalism *and* the slave system of the Old South, late nineteenth-century domestic service perpetuated a system of condescension and submission. As cultural, social, economic, and political power lay with the master and mistress of the household, servants formed and maintained their own coping strategies.
5. Domestic service relates to corresponding social and economic changes and events in the New South in particular and throughout the country as a whole between 1890 and 1930. Maymont and the people who lived and worked here were part of a larger configuration of diverse communities and neighborhoods in Richmond and beyond.

Interpretive Approach

The proposed exhibition as presently conceived would offer a self-guided experience with a variety of interpretive modes to communicate the stated themes at multiple levels. Depending on their age, education, interest, and allotted time, visitors could shape their own experience through restored rooms furnished with original and appropriate period artifacts; interpretive panels with text; photographs and other images; audio and video loops; and interactive items. For visitors seeking more extensive information, didactic materials will also include focus paragraphs that introduce some of the men and women once employed at Maymont, quotes from oral histories, and thought-provoking issues of the Maymont era or daily situations in a changing world confronted by the workers and the Dooleys. Visitors will be able to activate brief audio and video segments to access accounts of servant life and duties. Optional activities might also include the perusal of stationary hands-on “scrapbooks” with period images of household workers, equipment, facsimiles of specific Maymont documents and other related period documents: letters, servant payroll, grocery lists, invoices, menus, receipts, housekeeping manuals, and advertisements. Visitors could also handle replicas of cooking and cleaning implements. Through such materials, visitors gain access to the kinds of primary documents that help to form interpretation and exhibitions at Maymont and other historic sites.

Exhibit Overview

On the main and upper floors, visitors learn both the functional and ceremonial aspects of Maymont House.⁵ In revised interpretation for general tours, in addition to explaining room use and pointing out certain fine and decorative art objects, docents will also note in these spaces the interaction of servants with their employers as well as guests and others who came to the home: the butler meeting guests at the door, the parlor maid delivering the tea trays to the drawing room, the butlers vanishing behind the screen in the dining room to retrieve the next course from the butler’s pantry, Mrs. Dooley summoning her lady’s maid by the push of a button in her bedroom. Docents, for example, might encourage visitors to consider the parlor maid’s perspective on a tea party in the drawing room, the butler’s opinion on discussions that he might have overheard among Major Dooley and his associates in the library, and the thoughts that might have occurred to the lady’s maid when she heard the annunciator ring belowstairs.

After gaining a brief introduction to the household staff during guided tours through the family’s public and private rooms, visitors would then begin their journey through the new servant life exhibition spaces in the first floor butler’s pantry.

A. Butler’s Pantry: Before leaving the first floor, visitors would view the butler’s pantry, the first floor room that provides a physical and psychological transition between the realms of employer and employee. This area could facilitate discussion of Victorian interaction rituals that required servants to function as intermediaries between public and private realms. The workspace of the butler, the room was convenient to the mansion’s two formal entrances, which servants attended when Mrs. Dooley was “at home” to receive guests. The pantry is also adjacent to both the dining room and the backstairs. Furnished with the original copper-lined sink and floor-to-ceiling cabinets for ceramics and glassware, the butler’s pantry functioned as a staging area for meals. Receiving prepared food

⁵ See Appendices for floor plans of Maymont’s first and basement levels. Room letters correspond to location on floor plans.

via the dumb waiter from the kitchen below, the butler and his assistants arranged platters or individual plates for presentation in the dining room, added the finishing touches to tea trays for service in the drawing room, and filled decanters for after-dinner brandy in the library.

Text panels and images might give visitors a broad view of the number, positions, hierarchy, and duties of Maymont's domestic staff. Using the backstairs or the renovated ca. 1910 elevator, visitors would then descend to the restored belowstairs and the proposed domestic service exhibition.

B. Entry and Hall: This hall opens to the service stairs, elevator, and an outside door—the proposed public exit for the exhibition. Here, visitors could pick up a self-guide brochure that provides exhibition facts and themes as well as a descriptive floor plan that would orient and guide them through various service rooms. The hall was the original location of the annunciator or call box, which, when activated by a bell above, indicates the room to which the servants were summoned. The call box will be in operation for visitors to hear periodically as they tour belowstairs. The hand-powered dumb waiter connected to butler's pantry above is also located in this passageway, a very active area during the Dooleys' era.

C. Kitchen: According to oral history, the heart of the mansion work area was also the largest and brightest of all belowstairs rooms. Through a recreated space featuring hundreds of implements, cutlery, crockery, and cookware standard to well-supplied kitchens, visitors could gain a vivid sense of the elaborate preparations required for even an everyday dinner. One oral history interview indicates that a large work table was positioned in front of the range with its large hood. This is also the room in which the staff assembled for meals, which could be interpreted by a large dining table set for the midday meal in the bay window area.⁶ Visitors might be able to tune into a reproduction of an early radio in the nearby windowsill to catch news or popular music of the day.

As a gathering place, the kitchen could be a place to introduce aspects of a work culture and camaraderie among staff members. Its proximity to the outside basement door provides a logical link to a discussion of the grounds workers, coachmen, and chauffeur who once entered and exited the residence through this service passage. An audio loop here might capture the memories of the cook's niece or a reconstructed conversation between a gardener and the kitchen maid. Visitors might actually use the speaking tube near the door to communicate with other guests in the butler's pantry above.

Text panels and images would augment the period room setting with enumeration of the many of steps of preparing and serving an elaborate meal with many courses. Facsimile receipt books, menus and diagrams of proper place settings would be available for visitor perusal. They could also note the expansion in staff, supplies, and effort when the Dooleys hosted a party—such as the one in 1897 catered by a New York firm and attended by 400 guests, or the luncheon for 250 in 1912 attended by state governors from around the country. The small sink near the original hot water heater and cleaning implements would remind visitors that the cook and kitchen maid did not end their day until the room's white walls and surfaces sparkled in accordance with the period's new concern with germs.

⁶ Virginia Alexander, oral history deposition, 26 October 1988, Maymont Documentation Files.

D. Dairy Room and E. Cold Pantry: These two nearby rooms would display canned goods and other stored food. Interpretive panels in these areas might illustrate early refrigeration systems, canning practices, and the processing of various milk products that would take place in a home such as Maymont.

F. Laundry Room: In the laundry room visitors would learn about “Blue Monday,” the customary American laundry day, and its labor-intensive chores. Next to the original triple-unit laundry tub, the laundry would include wash boards, an early twentieth-century washing machine, wringers, tubs, lace curtain stretchers, wooden racks and various irons, ironing boards, and baskets filled high with clothing and linens, suggesting hours of tedious pressing. Visitors would also see such typical ephemera such as bars of soap, boxes of soap powder, starch and bluing. Interpretive panels would describe the work and equipment of the laundry room as well as the drying closet, once located off the boiler room. The text and images would also relate the life of a typical laundress. As the majority of American laundresses came weekly to residences or “took in” laundry in their own homes,⁷ this area would introduce the concept of “live-out” service from waged, day laborers.

G. Wine Cellar: The original wine racks indicate that the Dooleys could store up to 600 bottles of wine at one time. Visitors would learn that, in addition to purchasing various kinds of manufactured wine, beer, and liquors, Sallie Dooley and her kitchen staff produced homemade wine. The display might also discuss Prohibition laws (1920-33) that limited wine-making to medicinal or sacramental usage. The cellar door retains its original double lock, one of only two in the mansion. The large shelves opposite the racks may have provided storage for valuable, large silver pieces.

H. Butler’s Room: Isolated at the end of a long corridor, this small corner room served as the sleeping quarters for the butler. The room would reveal the simplicity of servant accommodations in contrast to the elaborate family rooms above. Here, visitors could consider the butler’s duties, view a customary uniform, and become acquainted with the hierarchy within the staff itself—the butler usually commanding the highest standing. In this room, one might also learn how the hiring of male domestics particularly signified upper-class status in the late nineteenth century.⁸

I. Servants’ Room: Located in the opposite corner of the belowstairs floor plan from the butler’s room, this spacious room functioned as a work space during the day and, possibly, sleeping quarters at night. According to an oral history interview with the niece of the cook, “the girls” slept here on small iron beds.⁹ The recent architectural assessment indicates that a laundry stove probably stood in front of the hearth, which served double duty warming flat irons and supplying warm air to the adjacent drying room. This discovery suggests that during the day ironing boards would have been set up in this space.¹⁰

The room’s dual function brings the disparity between upstairs life and servant life into stark relief. As combined work space and sleeping quarters, this room provides opportunity to discuss in more detail the benefits and difficulties of a servant’s living in or living outside the residence. Visitors

⁷ Faye Dudden, *Serving Women: Household Service in Nineteenth-Century America* (Hanover: Wesleyan University Press, 1983), 224-25.

⁸ Ibid., 113; Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899; New York: Penguin Books, 1979), 57.

⁹ Virgee Payne, oral history deposition, 17 June 1992, Maymont Documentation Files.

¹⁰ Charles Phillips, “Maymont House, Richmond: Exploratory Investigation of Basement,” unpublished report of findings (Winston-Salem: Phillips and Oppermann, September 1997), Maymont Reference Library.

would become acquainted with a particular day worker such as Georgia Anderson, a maid, who lived in the neighborhood outside of Maymont's gates. Visitors would "follow her home" to learn of her separate but parallel household and family responsibilities. This section would briefly orient the visitor to the broader, racially diverse community of Richmond that Georgia Anderson and the other workers knew. It would include images of nearby working-class residences, the African American shopping districts, schools and churches of Richmond and public transportation of the period.

Featuring representative personal items such as letters, pictures, and books, the room would present the on- and off-duty hours of house maids. Viewing a typical maid's uniform, visitors would learn about dress requirements and the changing issues surrounding the use of livery in the United States.¹¹ They would also be able to review, from contemporary prescriptive literature, listings of duties, hours, and "house rules" that typically governed the labor and decorum of live-in help. Because of its large size and many windows, this room might be adapted to include seating for group orientation and activity components for school programs.

J. Boiler Room: The large, central belowstairs space once held a coal-fired boiler that was connected by steam pipes to radiator boxes fixed to the ceiling at certain points throughout the lower level. The absence of the original equipment affords exhibition space in which the central heating, electrical system, gas, water supply, plumbing and other domestic technology of the house would be explained and illustrated.

Other interpretive panels would address changing populations and practices in American domestic labor in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Didactic materials could also touch upon hiring traditions and servant practices in post-Reconstruction Richmond and compare and contrast these with other parts of the country such as the deep South and the Northeast. This area might provide facsimiles of household manuals and magazines that provided Gilded Age mistresses with guidelines for the hiring, training, and supervision of domestic workers. Interpretive panels in this area could provide discussion of the limited employment opportunities for African American women during this period and offer a brief overview of training programs in domestic skills offered through black women's educational institutions such as Hartshorne College in Richmond.¹² These may be displayed next to "Help Wanted" and "Situations Wanted" columns from Richmond newspapers of the period. The text could also follow changes in domestic service through World War I, the Great Depression, World War II, and into the second half of the twentieth century.

Because of its ample dimensions, the boiler room might provide an alternative gathering area with some seating for orientation and school programs and perhaps a cabinet of hands-on implements. From this space, visitors could easily retrace their steps to previous exhibition spaces or exit by way of the basement door or, for those with disabilities, by way of the elevator to the first floor.

Planning Materials And Intellectual Resources

¹¹ It appears that Maymont's female livery had three variations: black dress with white aprons for cleaning, gray with white ruffled apron for day wear, and wine-colored with white aprons with wine piping for evening. Audry Smith, oral history deposition, 27 September 1994, Maymont Documentation Files.

¹² Carson, pp. 15-16.

The exhibition and interpretation planning team, comprised of house museum staff, temporary staff and consultants, has a wealth of material and intellectual resources from which they have already begun to draw. Fortunately, the Maymont House basement has never been restored and retains its original walls, some original fixtures and built-in features. The Belowstairs Architectural Investigation and Documentation Survey, conducted by historical architect Charles Phillips and completed in 1997, provides invaluable and intriguing information about the original appearance, finishes, fixtures and functions of the various rooms during the Dooleys' tenure. The study documents original extant architectural features, hardware, and fixtures; identifies changes that took place belowstairs during the Dooley era; maps original systems and finishes; and, in some cases, determines the location and appearance of some lost features that may be reproduced or interpreted graphically. Also, an historical finishes and paint color analysis was conducted by Frank Welsh in 1997.

The planning team would also draw from the results of a two-year research project, led by American studies historian, Barbara Carson, who directed the research conducted by Maymont House staff, two university interns and a part-time research assistant. The Maymont House Domestic Service Documentation and Research Project included the assembling and assimilation of all relevant documentation in on-site archives, research files, and oral history depositions. A thorough search was conducted of all local archives. New oral history contacts were made and interviews conducted. A study of census records during the Dooley occupation was completed as well as a Richmond cohort survey and a study of the domestic science curriculum at Hampton Institute, 1870-1920. The project brought to light many long-forgotten details of the Maymont household and its domestic workers. The project also included a review of prescriptive literature and development of an annotated bibliography. A review of current scholarly literature on domestic service prompted many additions to the growing on-site reference library. As part of this project, William Worthington, a specialist in historical technology at the Smithsonian Institution, conducted a survey of the early household systems of Maymont, including electric lighting, gas, water, plumbing, heating and other features such as the Otis elevator. Together the Architectural Survey and the final report of the Domestic Service Research Project—along with a large volume of attendant files—constitute a significant primary source information base that will shape interpretation and exhibition content and guide the planning.

The planning team would also continue to pursue relevant research where the opportunity for new documentation exists and to work from extant primary documents, including Maymont household accounts at the Virginia Historical Society, correspondence and diaries of upper-class contemporaries in Richmond, and newspaper accounts. The team will draw upon prescriptive literature from period magazine articles, essays, government studies, and household manuals. A key component in documentation is the ongoing oral history project, begun in the 1970s, that includes depositions by individuals who visited Maymont during the Dooleys' tenure. These include daughters, nieces and friends of former servants, the wife of the chauffeur, and domestic workers employed in the homes of the Dooley cohort.¹³ New oral history contributions will be sought by the Community Outreach Coordinator during the exhibition planning project.

¹³ Audry Smith, daughter of maid, Georgia Lewis Anderson; Virginia Alexander, daughter of personal maid, Fannie Waddy; Virgee Payne, niece of cook, Frances Walker; and others; transcriptions in Maymont Documentation Files.

Other resources include 250 household artifacts, of the period but not directly associated with Maymont, that were donated to the Foundation in anticipation of the belowstairs exhibition. Items include such relevant objects as laundry equipment: various flat irons, crimping irons, laundry tables, ironing boards of various sizes, scrub boards, drying racks, lace curtain stretcher; kitchen equipment: cooking implements, utensils, kettles, crocks, ham boiler, crockery bowls, coffee grinder, meat grinders, cabinets, storage bins, kitchen chairs, and work tables; and servant furnishings: iron bedsteads, side tables and ceramic wash basins and pitchers. Members of the planning team would continue to visit contemporary house museums as well as relevant exhibits and storage collection of the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of American History and The Valentine Museum to view and study household equipment. During the planning period, the Collections Manager will work with the Furnishing Plan Consultant to identify the appropriate objects necessary belowstairs and to plan the placement and interpretation of the objects.

Understanding of Maymont's service spaces is enhanced by comparison with contemporary historic houses, in and outside Richmond. A crucial site is the Dooleys' summer home, Swannanoa, a much grander estate, completed in 1913 on Afton Mountain in Augusta County, Virginia. Now privately owned but accessible to the Maymont House staff and exhibition team, Swannanoa has belowstairs spaces that retain much of their original character and equipment. The 1911 blueprints designate the kitchen, laundry, store room, wine cellar, boiler, servant sleeping quarters, and provide specifications for mechanical equipment. The summer home gives further insight into the Dooleys' preferences for the arrangement of service spaces. The project staff would also continue to have access to other contemporary private residences in the region that have assisted in developing an understanding of the configuration of Maymont's service areas. Already, staff and consultants have toured contemporary house museums throughout the country where service areas are interpreted and have developed a network of colleagues upon whom they can call for additional resources. Secondary resources greatly enhance interpretation efforts and give balance to primary materials that retain distinctive upper- and middle-class biases. Over the past twenty years, scholars in the fields of American studies, history, sociology, African American studies, and women's studies have investigated the changing history of domestic service in the United States. Under the influence of the New Social History, their books, articles, papers, and dissertations explore the complexities of this country's systems of indentured, enslaved, and waged household labor.¹⁴ Many of these studies—some of which are listed in the attached bibliography—will inform and amplify a contextual understanding of Maymont.

History of the Project

Restoration of the Maymont House Backstairs has been a long-term goal of Maymont Foundation for many years. Several projects over the past fifteen years have helped to position interpretation of domestic service and restoration of the belowstairs spaces as one of the highest priorities for the house museum. In the late 1970s, as part of the early efforts to document Maymont and the Dooleys, staff and volunteers began collecting oral history as opportunities have arisen. In 1979, the first proposal for internal use was developed for restoration of the service spaces. However, through the 1980s, the establishment of other essential programs took precedence for the small house museum

¹⁴ Barbara Levy, Annotated Bibliography for "The View From the Kitchen: Interpreting the Lives of Domestic Workers," a one-day conference organized by The National Trust for Historic Preservation, Boston, MA, 25 October 1994. (Maymont was featured at this conference in the presentation by Project Historian, Barbara Carson.)

staff: artifact and architectural conservation, continuing restoration of the first and second floors, re-cataloguing of the collection, and educational and docent programs.

In 1982, a small NEH grant for school program materials provided for the development of a slide/script classroom outreach kit on Victorian servant life in addition to other topics. The research and preparation of this program inspired the development of a monthly focus tour for adults, the Victorian Servant Life Backstairs Tour, a standard offering for the past fifteen years that continues to attract capacity audiences. The two-hour tour of all four floors, restored and unrestored, interprets turn-of-the-century domestic service and presents the rooms of the mansion from the perspective of the people who worked at Maymont and similar mansions of the era. (See letter to the Richmond newspaper from a tour attendee in appendices.) As word has spread in the community, through media interviews, newspaper articles and otherwise, individuals have come forward with oral history sources, early household manuals, period household artifacts to furnish the future belowstairs exhibition, and general encouragement of the long-range goal. Yearly lecture series have provided speakers on aspects of domestic service, including Susan Williams, "Savory Suppers and Fashionable Feasts," Elizabeth Clark-Lewis, "Living In, Living Out," Elizabeth O'Leary, "At the Doorway: Servant Imagery in 19th Century American Paintings," and others.

Through private funds raised annually to support Maymont House conservation and restoration projects, the first major step toward restoration and exhibition of service spaces was taken in 1992 when historical architect, Charles A. Phillips of Phillips and Oppermann, based in Winston-Salem, N.C., was engaged to conduct a preliminary architectural investigation of the Maymont House belowstairs. To support the new findings and to provide the proper foundation for planning the interpretation, restoration and exhibition, a historical documentation and research phase was the next essential step. In 1994, the William H., John G. and Emma Scott Foundation, a local, private foundation, awarded a grant to fund site-specific documentation of domestic service at Maymont, to review current scholarship, and to conduct general research on domestic service. Historian Barbara Carson designed the research plan, supervised the research, and wrote a summary and assessment of findings. To provide insight into domestic service and its place in the story of Richmond's past, representatives from the community were invited to serve on an African American History Interpretation Advisory Committee and to share their viewpoints at a roundtable discussion. (See Appendices) The research project also included an on-site survey and report by a specialist in the history of domestic technology and mechanical systems. The final report of the domestic service documentation and research project was completed in 1996.

Maymont Foundation's 1995 Strategic Plan lists development of belowstairs restoration and exhibition plan as a major goal to be achieved before 2000. One of the major recommendations of the humanities scholars who participated in the 1996 self-study was the integration of the people of Maymont's past into the visitor's experience. The advisors recommended that interpretation both indoors and about the estate should be more thoroughly infused with the perspective of all past inhabitants and workers. A belowstairs restoration and exhibition were strongly encouraged by the self-study advisors as high priorities for the house museum. Their recommendation reinforced the philosophy that had driven the pursuit of Maymont's belowstairs interpretation, and that is now reflected in the new Historical Interpretation Policy resulting from the self-study. The themes of the proposed domestic service exhibition would amplify two of the interpretive themes formulated during the self-study and adopted as part of the interpretation policy: "Domestic Service and the Gilded Age Estate" and "Living Well in the Era of Technological Innovation." (See Appendices)

Upon completion of the documentation and research phase, Charles Phillips conducted the final steps of the architectural investigation and survey, completed in September 1997. Concurrently, one of the first internships offered through the University of Virginia Institute for Public History was devoted to Maymont's servant life project. A doctoral candidate in architectural history was engaged to develop new docent training materials on domestic service. The summer activities culminated in the presentation of Maymont's project at the October 1997 University of Virginia symposium, "Private Life, Private Space: Understanding the Home," which featured distinguished scholars and experts including Charles Phillips and Barbara Carson.

4. Significance to a Broad, Regional and National Audience

In a state noted for its wealth of eighteenth-century historic sites, Maymont stands out for its exceptional array of resources for interpretation of Gilded Age lifestyle and taste. It is the only intact, late Victorian estate open to the public in Virginia, and it is among a handful of American country places of this era open to the public in the southeastern United States. The proposed exhibition and its related educational programs focusing on domestic service will have widespread significance to local, regional, and national audiences. As one of the first efforts by a historic house museum in the South to present not only the servant work spaces in an upper-class, turn-of-the-century dwelling, but also to interpret the perspectives and the experiences of the domestic workers themselves and to relate these to a broader social and political context, Maymont could serve as a prototype for multifaceted interpretation of American domestic life.

To grasp the project's potential local and regional impact, one must first understand the demographics of Maymont's current audience. Located in the heart of the City of Richmond, just two miles from the State Capitol, Maymont attracts a large, diverse audience that averages approximately 400,000 visitors annually. Recent audience surveys reveal that 75% of visitors are drawn from the Greater Richmond Area (the City of Richmond, Chesterfield, Hanover, and Henrico counties), which has a population numbering 745,372, with 31.2% non-white representation. Of these, the majority come from within the City of Richmond, which has a population of 203,056, with a 56.6% non-white representation.¹⁵

Because of Maymont's special character as a free public attraction and a park, Maymont receives a large percentage of atypical museum visitors, many from the area's multicultural community. A random phone survey conducted in 1995 revealed a high representation (72%) of African American visitors to Maymont from the Greater Richmond Area.¹⁶ Moreover, an annual average of 12,000 school children come to Maymont as part of formal education programs. Among school groups visiting Maymont House, 80% are from the Richmond Public School System, which is presently 86% African American.¹⁷

¹⁵ Population statistics are based upon 1990 census records provided by the public information offices of the City of Richmond and 1995 statistics provided by the Greater Richmond Partnership.

¹⁶ Media General Monitor. The survey, conducted from 11 to 15 December 1995, drew 398 respondents among adults 18 years or older in the Greater Richmond Area.

¹⁷ Information Office, Richmond Public School System, November 1997. School groups visiting only Maymont's Nature Center (and not the mansion) include 50% representation from the Richmond Public School System.

Among Maymont's general visitors, 25% are individuals and families who come from beyond the Greater Richmond Area. The potential for drawing additional multicultural visitation from outside the locality is significant. Of the total Maymont visitation, 75% of house museum visitors are from outside the metropolitan area, and among the ten house museums in the metropolitan area, Maymont House receives one of the highest annual visitations. Maymont is located along a heavily-traveled corridor from New York to Florida. Within that north-south axis, the non-white population of the surrounding region from Delaware to South Carolina, is 27% (7% higher than the national average).

Target Audience and Beneficiaries of the Servant Life Exhibition

By developing a major servant life exhibition and interpretive program, Maymont can offer its present and future constituencies a more comprehensive understanding of turn-of-the-century life that would include perspectives of both an upper-class family, the Dooleys, and those who once experienced the estate as a workplace. The material produced will also address and enhance visitor understanding of race, labor, and gender dynamics during Richmond's Gilded Age. Expanded interpretation of the African American share of Maymont's past would have special meaning for an important sector of its present constituency.

To maximize the benefit of the project for school-age visitors, Maymont's Program Coordinator and others on the planning team will be sensitive to both national and state standards for learning. The project is especially suited for the revised *National Standards for History* that emphasize historical thinking skills and historical understanding. The Era Six component, which focuses upon the development of the Industrial United States (1870-1900) addresses particular learning issues for grades 5-12. In accordance with the standard's criteria, the exhibition and related programs will discuss the rise of corporation, technology, new social patterns, conflicts, and ideas of national unity amid growing cultural diversity, and issues of labor in relation to social and economic changes. The project's educational component will also comply with the National Council of Social Studies' *Standards and Performance Expectations for Early Grades, Middle Grades, and High School* and the Commonwealth of Virginia's *History and Social Science Standards of Learning* (section 11.8), which also focus upon the impact of industrialization, urbanization, and race relations at the end of the nineteenth century.

Opportunities for collaboration will be planned with regional African American organizations, such as the Black History Museum and Cultural Center of Virginia and Sixth Mount Zion Church; newspapers, including the *Richmond Free Press*; and colleges, such as Virginia Union University, Virginia State University, Hampton University, and Virginia Commonwealth University. Many of these institutions will be represented on the Domestic Life Program and Outreach Advisory Committee. With anticipated benefits of gaining interpretation input and relevant information and materials, such collaborative efforts will help shape the exhibition. The Community Outreach Coordinator will recruit and interview elderly individuals who once worked in Richmond as domestic workers. She will make public presentations to open the topic of Maymont's proposed exhibition for community dialogue and bring the interpretation into the present. She will work closely with the Black History Museum's staff who have already begun gathering oral history with the guidance of Virginia State University faculty. Portable exhibition panels will be planned for temporary off-site display, thus expanding public awareness of Maymont's domestic service interpretation and encouraging visitation. These important resources and the collaborations

developed during the planning process will foster minority visitation, program participation, and volunteerism at Maymont House in the future.

On a national level, Maymont's ongoing servant life interpretation and the proposed exhibition are in keeping with an increase in both scholarly and public interest over the past fifteen years in American domestic work and workers. Responding to the growing interest in this topic and its interpretation in house museums, the National Trust for Historic Preservation conducted a groundbreaking conference and workshop, "The View from the Kitchen: Interpreting the Lives of Domestic Workers" (Boston, October 25, 1994) at which Maymont's project was introduced by historian, Barbara Carson, a featured speaker. Historic sites from the James J. Hill House in St. Paul, Minnesota to Biltmore House in Asheville, North Carolina, Monticello in Charlottesville, Virginia and Riverview at Hobson's Grove in Bowling Green, Kentucky have inaugurated new tours and programs that consider servant or slave life. Maymont's research and the proposed exhibition will contribute to a growing body of current information available to scholars, interpreters, and the public. The project will serve as a case study in the national discourse and a model for other historic house museums.

Beyond site-specific interpretation opportunities, the planning team will share their findings with a broad national and international audience by posting exhibition text, images, and a select bibliography on domestic service on Maymont's Web site. (Scholars and professionals could access the information by searching under "servant.") Maymont's mailing list of other house museums and researchers known to have a special interest in domestic service will receive an announcement of exhibition plan completion and the availability of new resources. The temporary interpretive panels that will be produced could be displayed off-site at other institutions and at conferences. Team members would propose sessions and workshops on the development of the exhibition and on servant life interpretation for museum conferences, such as those sponsored by the Virginia Association of Museums, Southeastern Museum Conference, the American Association of Museums and the American Association for State and Local History. During the course of the project, a collaborative symposium on domestic service would be planned that would target a national audience. Project findings and results could also be shared through such publications as *Museum News*.

Audience Evaluation

During the twelve-month planning period, visitors to Maymont House will be asked to participate in a volunteer survey. Following regular tours, groups will be canvassed orally concerning their interest in expanded interpretation of servant life. Docents will note the response. Evaluation forms would be available for those visitors wishing to answer specific questions or offer suggestions. Following each "Victorian Servant Life Tour," an established ongoing program, participants will be asked to complete a similar evaluation form. Both forms may be completed on-site or taken home and returned by mail in a self-addressed, stamped envelope. The planning team will draw from the visitor comments in shaping the exhibition. The process will also give the team the opportunity to develop future audience evaluation instruments to be used once the exhibition and new interpretation is implemented.

At outreach presentations scheduled by the Community Coordinator, comment will be solicited and survey forms distributed to sample non-visitor opinion concerning Maymont's domestic service interpretation. These occasions will also provide opportunities to learn of oral history subjects. The

Domestic Life Program and Outreach Advisory Committee, made up of educators, interpreters, historians, representatives from collaborating museums and universities, and Maymont board representatives, will participate in program and resource development, and evaluation of Maymont's interpretation and exhibition plans.